KICK IT OVER

#6 SEX AND PEACE ISSUE February 1983



FOR ALL WOMEN RAPED IN EVERY WAR: Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) Wreath at Remembrance Day Ceremony

- Porn Debate
- PiL Concert
- Abortion Clinic Plans
 Leonard Peltier Interview
 - Litton's Aftermath: Filling in the Holes

CORRECTIONS:

In the last issue of *Kick It Over*, there were a number of important omissions. First of all, Richard Slye did not receive credit for the graphics which appeared in the KIO subscription box, and on page 3. Alexandra Devon did not receive credit for the interview entitled *Inside the West Beirut Infemo*, and Raven Williamson was left off the credits in the list of KIO's editorial collective. Our apologies to all concerned.

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KICK IT OVER Sex and Peace Issue

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THE STATE AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

HARASSMENT BY METRO'S SWINEST

Two months after the bombing of Litton Industries, agents of the Canadian government began a series of coordinated attacks on segments of the non-violent peace movement. Starting with raids on the office of WE Peterborough and on the homes of two of its activists, raids have occurred on the offices of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project and the Alliance for Non-Violent Action, as well as on the homes of Ken Hancock and Tom Joyce. Police have also dropped by, without warrants, to my house and Len Desroches' home, and picked me up using a warrant for someone in B.C. who has a similar name to mine. This latter act was, of course, illegal but that has never been much of a barrier to government in its efforts to discredit its opponents.

The effects on individuals seem to be ignored by the mainstream media. People in Canada are not used to being the victims of organized police harassment, assuming that it occurs either to "criminals" or in other countries. Problems with sleep, decreased appetites, nightmares and strains in relationships have been noticed among the eight people from C. M. C. P. who have been singled out for attention. Others have changed the level of openness and trust, assuming that all telephones are bugged and that some people we have been working with for a long time can not be trusted. The innocence seems to have been shattered but the strength to remain calm and maintain one's comfort and strength have not yet replaced it.

There seems to be a selective direction to police attention. Only eight membership cards were removed from the Cruise Missile Conversion Project office. Some of these were members of the Direct Action Collective of the C.M.C.P., others were not. The membership list of The Society of Friends (Quakers) was taken from the Alliance office, while material from the Soviet Embassy was left undisturbed. Logical materials such as minutes of meetings and anything dealing with 'Direct Action' were seized, but the garbage was also gone through repeatedly and a sign reading 'Shut the Door' was taken.

The two month gap between the bombing of Litton and the start of police harassment is in itself suspicious. The four hundred and fifty police officers who protected Litton from peaceful protestors filled the same function of trying to discourage activists as the much smaller number are doing now. The police have no leads and are feeling impotent and feel they must show they are not being defeated by a small group of dedicated activists.

Groups with known "communist" connections, such as the Canadian Peace Congress, have not been subjected to raids nor have they had their members harassed. The Cruise Missile Conversion Project, with its non-hierarchical, anarcho-pacifist leanings, some among whose members are anarchists, is being singled out for attention. Those with tie-ins to mainstream



Office co-ordinator Murray MacAdam in the Cruise Missile Conversion Project's office.

churches seem to be singled out (Hancock with the Quakers, Desroches with the Roman Catholic Church, 'myself with the United Church) where others are not. Efforts by the police thus seem to be concerned with discrediting effective opposition to the existing structure and to alienate mainstream supporters from peace activists.

After the B.C. Direct Action bombing, over two hundred raids took place, yet no one was charged. A lot of energy was wasted trying to deal with a very direct attack on a legitimate movement. Here, only a few members are being harassed but the draining away of energy is still occurring.

The police seem to be attempting to divert activists away from organizing, to discredit the radical segments of the peace movement in the eyes of liberal supporters and to wear down the strength of certain activists. Opposition has not occurred, except for scattered letters and press releases. If opposition is not heard soon, there is a great likelihood that oppressive tactics will continue, most likely directly spilling over into the anarchist movement.

This article was written by Brian Burch, a member of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project. After he wrote this article and we typeset it, a mass meeting was called, with representatives of several different groups, to protest police actions and plan a response. Kick It Over was represented as were numerous other organizations and publications.

TO BOMB OR NOT TO BOMB?

— That is the Question —

The following article was submitted to KIO as a self-criticism by the authors of a leaflet circulated in Toronto after the Litton bombing. We reproduce both below.

Soon after the bombing we published:

VANGUARD TERROR vs. STATE TERROR An Anarchist Critique of the Litton Bombing

The October 14th bombing of Litton Systems in Rexdale has given rise to a storm of debate about armed struggle. We would submit that there are no absolute criteria by which these acts can be judged but, in considering specific acts, there are criteria that can be applied.

First, given that any such act will invariably be used as a pretext for repression, did it accomplish anything the achievement of which might outweigh or, at least, mitigate these negative consequences? And did it lead to an increase in the self-activity of the people? Our goal is a society in which people freely manage all aspects of their lives, and how can this be brought about save by the involvement of everyone at every step in their liberation?

Violent activity that arises out of a mass movement can be an expression of people's growing self-activity. Vanguardist violence leaves people in the role of spectators. Clandestine organizations tend to become isolated from the people and to develop their own raison d'etre. Both the terrorists and the reformists presume to know "what's best" for the people and abandon the difficult task of awakening them to the possibility and necessity of revolution.

The bombing at Litton cannot be said to have increased the self-activity of either the community or the employees at the plant in opposition to the cruise missile. The injuries suffered by seven people will no doubt make reaching these workers even more difficult. Nor did the bombing effectively sidetrack war production as the production facilities were entirely untouched. Nonetheless the RCMP, SIS, Metro Red Squad and others will use the bombing as the excuse for a "fishing expedition" and will practice a little of their own state-sponsored terror on the left.

The fact that an act brings down repression does not in itself condemn it as any effective action, particularly revolutionary action, is bound to have that effect and one cannot avoid stepping on official toes if one intends to revolutionize society.



Nor can the fact that an act is violent in and of itself be used to condemn it. We beg to differ with the U. of T. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which declares to the press that "Whether it be individuals or governments, the use of violence as a way of achieving goals is no longer possible". Condemning the violence of isolated armed struggle groups while asking people to put their faith in flyswatter referendums and the morality of profit-and-power-driven madmen is asking people to commit collective suicide. For us, the only solution is revolution. Revolution, not as a mere change of rulers but as a fundamental transformation in the values, thinking, and spirituality of millions of people.

For people of conscience, violence is always a horror and a disaster but, rather than counsel people to go peacefully to the gas chambers, we will teach the lessons of Vietnam, Chile, Poland and October 1970—that no ruling class will ever voluntarily retire from the stage of history. We do not rate very highly the chances of a violent revolution, but, if its that or killing our sisters and brothers around the world for the State, then there is only one moral choice: civil war.

In this time of mass media demagoguery, we should concentrate not on defensive appologetics, which amount to nothing more than statements of our loyal opposition to the status quo, but on exposing the real terrorists: the states wielding nuclear and con-

ventional weapons, preparing for world war while smashing (or preparing to smash) all resistance to war at home. As Noam Chomsky has pointed out, terrorism are those selected acts of violence which our rulers oppose. Those who decry and persecute "terrorists" are themselves terrorism's biggest perpetrators and collaborators.

CRITIQUE OF THE CRITIQUE OF THE LITTON BOMBING

When we wrote the document above we hadn't had time to think about the meaning of the bombing, or even to read thoroughly the Direct Action communique. What we felt had to be done was react rapidly, create an anarchist pole in the flurry of debate that the issue was raising in the peacemovement and the left generally to prevent the discussion from being monopolized by the mindless baaaing of the peaceniks on the one hand and the left criticisms of "adventurism" on the other.

What we ended up with, because of the previous involvement of the two main authors in Leninist groups, our fear of police and state attack, and fear of our own attraction to this kind of direct action, was a document that was as much "loyal opposition" as anything the New Democratic Party might have come up with.

Our knee-jerk reaction ignored the real consequences of the action—in terms of the physical attack on the war machine, the power of example on other radical peace activists, and its power as a 'publicity gimmick' to inform people of the existence of a cruise missile plant in Toronto. We ignored our own feelings about the action and the consequences of our feelings (and those of other radical activists in the city) of pure delight, on our future activities against the war machine. We substituted ideology for reality.

We characterized the action as 'vanguardist' despite the lack of any 'party-building' orientation on the part of Direct Action. We called the action 'terrorist' despite our later quote from Chomsky that "terrorism are the acts of violence opposed by the ruling class". We lied about our feelings through not stating them

and using loaded words like 'terrorist'.

Now, there are places where our instincts were fulfilled-especially in our insistence on the need for revolution and on the primacy of building towards that and avoiding sidetracks into actions that don't encourage the self-activity of people in their own liberation and in our attack on simple-minded nonviolence. It seems from any study of the past that only nonviolent movements supported by violent movements have had any effect-Ghandi was backed by a radical bombing campaign as was Martin Luther King (though the bourgeoisie, in its wisdom, only show us the non-violence).

Basically our ideas have shifted around, after seeing the three major peace things since the bombing-october 17th here in Toronto, October 30th in Ottawa, and November 11th out at Litton Systems in



Rexdale. We have read and digested the Direct Action communique, and seen these events. We now believe that, though we didn't do the the bombing or help out the Direct Action group before the Litton bomb, the action was very good—there are many more radical peaceniks thinking beyond civil disobedience towards insurrection.

> The bombing was a good action, some Toronto area anarchists.



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HOW DO WE GET THERE FROM HERE:

Interview with a Peace Activist

Transcribed by Raven Williamson.

The following are excerpts of a conversation held between a member of the Kick It Over collective and Brenda McKinney. Brenda, formerly a member of the Toronto Disarmament Network, was one of the principal organizers of the June 5 march in Toronto. Since then, she has devoted a lot of her time to her music in the belief that art also has a role in changing the world. Mentioned in the text are the nuclear freeze referendums which were held in a number of Canadian cities and towns last fall, shortly after this interview was conducted.

Brenda: As I see it, there are two problems. One is that of nuclear war and stopping an immediate escalation, and, if you're going to be realistic, you haven't got a long time. We've probably got five years. And we've got to work within the system to get rid of that immediate threat. The other problem is a very long-term one, and I personally see that as a combination moral and political solution, and I think it's bigger than your lifetime or mine is going to solve: it's a question of survival and long-term change. And the question of survival must be taken on the terms it's given, and then we have to work towards the long-term solution. The whole purpose of the referendum is to exercise the freedom that we already have. It's not going to change anything. In a way, it's more a

part of the long-term solution than it is a part of the immediate solution. What it does is that it sets up a situation in which a lot of people are going to start reading or at least getting themselves a little bit educated about the peace movement, and just what it's all about and that's really its (the referendum— ed.) purpose. And I think that when they start looking at the situation, they will see what the roots of the problem are. And we also have to be realistic about it. The politicians are still the ones who determine the laws in this country, and if we want to solve that problem now, we have to get them on our side, even if it's not by appealing to their moral fibre, but by appealing to their desire to hold on to their power.

KIO: Well, that raises a couple of interesting questions. It seems to me that the thing of appealing to people on the basis of democracy is a double-edged sword. I would agree with you that people feel powerless, and I think that's an accurate estimation of their own position in society. And indeed the first step in solving any of these problems does lie in getting people to re-empower themselves, to basically take their lives into their own hands. And the question is: how to do that? If people are already cynical about the political process, do we want to breathe life into a dead corpse, because fundamentally that's the way the political process works. It's sort of like the



freedom of choice one has when one goes into a supermarket and gets to choose between Campbell soup and Heinz. There's a slogan floating around which is very apt: "If Voting Could Change Anything, It Would Be Illegal!". In other words, it's precisely a process that aims to keep people powerless because basically the whole mentality involved is one of delegating authority to someone else.

Brenda: But in a way, they're voting for an ideal, and I think that's a very important step. It's a regaining of innocence, almost in the traditional sense of innocence, experience, regained innocence. And in that cycle, if you know your literary history, the regained innocence was one in which the goal of your life was an ideal rather than a material thing. And that's very important.

KIO: What would you say are the roots of the current problem, of the fact that we're headed towards war?

Brenda: Well, we already know what those roots are; we've all read the right books, I'm sure. But I think for me it goes far beyond the labelling that we do. I get a little tired of the patriarchy, militarism, and all this. What the roots of the problem are is rule-thinking, very simply. What Christ said was that you don't solve any problems through means other than people being free to relate to each other. That's the big problem in our society. That's why I get very angry when I go to demonstrations, and I see the people either proposing that they just make a law against this and a law against that, or else they want to substitute another structure — Communism or whatever. They just want to set up another set of rules. They still think their needs are material, and can be dealt with in a material way, and that's the problem.

KIO: I'm trying to get a sense of your scenario. It seems you're saying there are two stages which must be attacked. There's the immediate thing of postponing the war as long as we can, and there's the long-term thing of dismantling the structures and the ideas that exist. And that in the next five years, we have to give priority to preventing war, or at least forestalling it on whatever basis of unity possible, even if it's the most innocuous. And so essentially it's a holding action, and then beyond that we've got to do the kind of educational work — and we'll get into this later — the kind of destructive work to tear down the institutions that exist now so that we can permamently remove the possibility of war. What's the interpenetration between these, like when will we ever get out of the holding pattern? In other words, how do we go from the short-term necessity to prevent the outbreak of war to doing the kind of education as to what the source of all this is so that we can defuse it permanently?

Brenda: Hopefully, what will happen is that each time the holding pattern will get longer. Next time, hopefully, we will be trying to get rid of will be a little less immediate. And each time we can afford to be a little more idealistic about how we solve them.

KIO: But how is the educational work that's going on now touching on any of the questions that we talked about earlier—getting people to unlearn the sort of ways of thought, and the ways of consumption, which have nothing to do with what human beings ought to be doing with their lives?

Brenda: Really, critical thinking is the first step to understanding things. What we must prevent is the kind of questioning that allows people to substitute more rules as answers.

Okay, so we really have a very humble role. We have to just keep on asking questions. We have to have five hours a day to talk to these people and just keep on asking questions, just keep on until they get down to basics. Down to basically being human. You know, it's corny and simplistic, but I don't know any other way to do it.

KIO: Let's say, for the sake of argument, that the majority of people in this country decided that they wanted totally to re-organize their lives, and wanted totally to dismantle the way things are, and put in its place a decentralized set-up where people were actually controlling their everyday lives, and transforming the way they labour, the way they love, the way they live, and every aspect of their existence. Do you honestly think that this revolutionary thinking would extend all the way up to the top?

Brenda: It's not going to happen in our lifetime. What we're doing in the peace movement is buying time.

KIO: But sooner or later, we have to attack the problem at its roots.

Brenda: We have to be attacking it at its roots all the time, but the peace movement is not the movement to do it in. Well, it is ultimately, but right now ...

KIO: All I'm asking is a simple question: are we going to win over the ruling class? Is it not going to be necessary to destroy them at some point? Are they going to one day wake up and become Hari Krishnas?

Brenda: No, they are not.

KIO: I can make certain choices about how I want to live my life. I can go live on a commune, which is what I want to do. But I can't stop the nuclear power plants from going up. I can't stop the acid rain. I can't stop all the effluents that are being belched into the rivers and lakes. I don't have that power, that's not within my control. And the people who have that power are going to continue to do it because it's in their interests, as they've defined those interests. And I don't think they're going to redefine those interests in the forseeable future. So the question is: since they have the power to pollute, and I have only the power to try and not pollute within my own five acres, how do I destroy them before they destroy me? Because I can be sitting on my little commune, and meanwhile toxins are building up in my body, and in the bodies of my children, and who's going to be destroyed? Their power over me ultimately cancels out my power not to pollute my five acres. So the question is: how are they finally going to be forced to relinquish their power?

Brenda: You can't change those people. All you can do is hope that they won't destroy the world before you have a chance to change it, or your train of thought has a chance to change it.

KIO: But your position is that there will never be a confrontation between those who change the train of thought and those who retain the power.

Brenda: I am saying that as long as you look at it in terms of direct confrontation, you yourself are part of the war mentality. I see that, ultimately, the thought pattern or the philosophy about our society is what's going to create those people. Reagan is a horrible person, I agree, but we all know that he is a product of our society. And you don't change things from the top down. What you're talking about is destroying one thing and re-creating another. You are not going to be able to do this without getting yourself into a position of power.

KIO: No. Because we are talking about destroying power.

Brenda: Yes, but when you're going to destroy power, the only way you can fight power in that way is through power, by having power yourself. I'm saying that having power as a group — some sort of violent power — is part of the problem. Violence begets violence begets violence. The inner logic of power is that it destroys itself.

KIO: Yes, and us along with it.

Brenda: In this case, yes. That's why we have to try to get these people to limit their power. We have to exercise our people power, but I don't think we do it through violence. I think that's going to be, in the long run, a very dangerous solution, because it will breed the kind of things that the Russian Revolution brought.

KIO: Well, you're making the pre-supposition that the social structures in this country are fundamentally different than anywhere else. When you think about it, the Chilean people tried to change their social system peacefully, and that earned them no mercy on the part of their rulers. So, fundamentally, I don't think it really matters whether you try to change the system violently or not. They have no compunction about coming down on people violently.

Brenda: Let's go a step further. You must change things in a non-threatening way.

KIO: But there is no such thing as non-threatening to these people. The RCMP has investigated the most innocuous individuals. Even the Green Party which is pretty bloody innocuous in West Germany, some of the politicians are calling for it to be outlawed because they allege that it is incompatible with democracy.

Brenda: What you're saying is something I think I have to admit is very true. The mere fact that you are different is threatening. My experience is that, in fact, people do change when they are removed from a situation in which they normally exist. So, I think you're right that you have to change the structures. But my experience has also taught me that if you want to get people to get the right idea, then you have to do that through non-violent, non-threatening, creative, positive means, and that is a very long-term thing.

KIO: But the people in power are not...

Brenda: They're not people?

KIO: Well, in a certain sense, they're not, if you want to get down to it.

Brenda: I think that is the height of stupidity.

KIO: Anybody that can calmly and coolly contemplate the destruction of the world is a fucking maniac, and has abrogated any right to be called a human being.

Brenda: He is a maniac. Would you like to have capital punishment along with that?

KIO: If it were possible to round them all up, and detach their fingers from the button, destroy the button, and destroy them, I would be in favour of it.

Brenda: Hate destroys itself. Hate breeds the necessity for power. The one thing that will wreck this world is if the very people in it who should be exercising positive, creative foces are hating instead. What I'm talking about is being something that will bring life for the survival of the planet.

KIO: Right, and that will require an empowerment of people—a sense of power over their everyday lives. For example, to go peacefully to the gas chambers in Germany did not give the Jewish people a sense of empowerment.

Brenda: What gave rise to the situation in the first place? KIO: But in that situation, should people resist or should they be destroyed? What should the Jews have done? Should they have peacefully submitted and gone to the gas chambers?

Brenda: I've often asked that question of myself. If I'm in a position where somebody is going to shoot me, and I know that person is a murderer — you know, if it's someone who's shot a lot of other people — would I shoot that person to save my life and get rid of that person? I think I probably would. But I don't think that is yet the situation in the world. I don't feel that Reagan and Brezhnev act in a way which is not what this society wants. I think that they are still products of their society. The vast majority of American people still think that the way to deal with the Russians is through violence. So it's not going to do any good to isolate a victim of their society. Reagan is a victim. He is the ultimate victim of his society. Brezhnev is the ultimate victim of his society. It's not going to do any good to isolate them, nor is capital punishment. It isn't going to do any good to focus our attention and our hate on them.



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PEACE TAX FUND

by Richard Shapcott

Do you know how much of your money is going to the military?? In 1980, the Defence Department spent 5 billion dollars—that's \$250.00 for every man, woman and child in Canada—and that does not include other defence-related activities such as the Devence Industry Production Plan (which gave Litton Systems a 26 million dollar grant and a 20 million dollar five year interest-free loan to develop the cruise missile!!). So, lots of bucks are going out of your pocket into the defence industry. What can you do about this? Lots of people just shrug their shoulders and say "taxes and death are inevitable".

But are taxes inevitable? Several years ago, Edith Adamson, a Victoria B.C. Friend (Quaker), started the Peace Tax Fund. Her idea is for the taxpayer to redirect the military portion of their taxes (which was 10.9% by Edith's calculations for the 1981 fiscal year) to a fund for the promotion of peace. First, she lobbied the government to set up such a fund. When this proved unsuccessful, she and some of her friends decided to set up a fund and redirect their taxes to it without the government's blessing. They sent the government two cheques, one made out to the Reciever-General for 89.1% of their taxes and the other made out to the Peace Tax Fund for 10.9% of their taxes. When the government returned the Peace Tax Fund cheque, and demanded payment in the correct way, Edith took the government to court. She is arguing that the government is violating her freedom of conscience (freedom of conscience is guaranteed by the new constitution). Her case is now in the B.C. Supreme Court and Edith expects it to be in the Canadian Supreme Court (which will decide the case) in the spring of 1985.

What can we do in Toronto?? Recently some people met to discuss what we could do to get more control over our taxes, especially the portion of them which go to the military. Some of the strategies discussed included financial and moral support of Edith (she will need \$50,000 to take the case to the Supreme Court) and redirection of our own taxes (we discussed either doing this as individuals or getting a list of people who would, when there were 10,000 names on the list, refuse to pay their taxes). But, some people complained—all of my taxes are withheld by my employer, what can I do?? Some people listed the Peace Tax Fund as a credit on their income tax forms (along with their Ontario Tax Credits, etc.) and thus claimed back more than they 'should' have. The tax department promptly ignored most of these credits (although some slipped by), and only returned what they saw fit.

However, one of the people at the meeting told us of a strategy which he is pursuing. Recently, he had a discussion with the leader and several administrators of the church, which he works for, on the possibilities of tax redirection. He suggested that the church send, on the employee's request part of the employee's tax to the Peace Tax Fund rather than submitting all of the employee's tax to the Reciever-General. The church people were very enthusiastic about the idea!! After all, the churches have recently come out very strongly against nuclear weapons and militarism generally, so how could they, in conscience, force their employees to support exactly those policies?? If the churches can be persuaded to set an example in redirecting or withholding taxes, hopefully other companies will follow their example.

One of the major criticisms of this policy is as follows: If people are allowed to redirect their military taxes, next thing you know, they want to redirect their highway taxes or pay government officials less, or spend more money on the environment. Rather than letting their duly elected representatives to decide where the people's money will go, the people might take it into their heads to decide where it will go themselves!! Who knows where this might lead?? Gadzooks sir, a revolution—Anarchy!!

If you would like to discuss your ideas on strategy and tactics, or you would like more information about the Peace Tax Fund, please write to Richard Shapcott c/o Kick it Over Magazine.



Teetering on the Brink

by Laura Ingersoll

The Fate of the Earth by Jonathan Schell (Avon paperback, 1982, New York, \$2.95).

It is obvious to anyone who thinks that the world is poised on the brink of an unprecedented atrocity — a nuclear exchange between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. What is not obvious is precisely how great an atrocity this would be — would it result in the death only of the hundreds of millions of people in the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., or would it involve other nations? Would civilization in the combatant nations be destroyed or just severely damaged? What would be the damage to the ecology?

Schell describes in detail, and in poetically penetrating language, the effects of a nuclear exchange on the United States, taking a "best case" assumption that all of the Soviet weapons would target the U.S. (whereas the likelihood is of a

general "settling of scores" by the superpowers). In the event of all eleven thousand Soviet megatons being exploded over the U.S.A., the human population would be totally exterminated, leaving a "republic of insects and grass".

He argues that, in fact, less than five hundred megatons would suffice to destroy, in less than a minute, ninety percent of the American population. As he says, "the gross effects from the immediate aftermath of the bombing are so great that speculation about other effects — the fallout, the epidemics, even these, seems pointless. There will not be anyone alive to experience them."

He outlines in the first section of the book the known physical effects of the release of eleven thousand megatons of nuclear explosions in the Northern Hemisphere — the immediate deaths of hundreds of millions of people, the total destruction of the nations and economies of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., along with the stripping clean of large parts of their territory of vegetation through firestorm and radiation poisoning, and the destruction of between 40 and 70% of the ozone layer in the northern hemisphere, and between 20 and 40% in the southern.

The depletion of the ozone layer raises the possibility of global ecological collapse, and a huge dieback of the variety of life in the space of thirty years or less. The plants and animals — in particular, ourselves — have arisen in an environment with very limited ultraviolet and low radiation. In the event of the nukes going off, in the space of a few minutes, these things would change. Exposure to the sun for more than ten minutes would produce second-degree burns on all exposed skin, animals would be blinded, the normal processes of photosynthesis by which plants make all food would be disrupted.

The possibility of the disruption of the ecology and the extinction of humankind is posed.

The two sections after his graphic description of the nuclear Holocaust offer his exploration of the philosophical difference between death and extermination, and of the overriding importance of understanding extinction's possibility as negating any idea or process that leads up to it. He talks of the idea of national sovereignty as the primary such idea, and argues for the total dissolution of all nation-states as a precursor of total lasting disarmament. He also talks of the moral and mental paralysis that has seized humankind over the past thirty-eight years, and the need to destroy that paralysis and sweep away these nuclear structures — to affirm life rather than death, the individual rather than the state.

The choice is put between annihilation, on the one hand, and a civilization with new bases, on the other. The new bases he proposes to build a nuclear-free world on are three-fold: 1) an affirmation of all parts of life, of good and evil, birth and death, of life as a positive good in itself; 2) respect for the earth, and for the ecology that created and sustains us; 3) respect for god (ess) or nature or whatever caused life to be, because creation is not of us, but comes from outside.

A brilliant book that should be read and shared. It makes



one realize that from one second to another life is uncertain. Literally, at one second you could be walking to work, and the next you could be in the middle of smoking ruins with your skin burning.

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A 'PORN' IN THE SIDE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

KIO Collective member Julia Sorel received the following letter from Camilla Decarnin in response to inquiries regarding the nature of the controversy surrounding the u.s. anti-pornography movement. The KIO Collective found that it threw light on the controversy and contained so much valuable information that we requested permission to publish it.

I'm afraid I've never had the kind of mind that could marshall facts and references, especially on a subject on which I am only marginally informed such as pornography (in the political sense of the word). I can only give my own feelings, which, though somewhat vague in expression, are fairly firm and longstanding.

I feel the WAVAW, WAVPM groups have made a serious, possibly fatal, error of analysis in seeing an attack on a symptom of sexist society (sexist pornography) as an attack on a causal factor. There is a feedback system wherein any and all aspects of a society naturally support and nourish that society's views. However, there are factors, such as economic and legal control and the overall malaise of major media lies, which I feel are causal, while other aspects, such as sexist pornography, drug abuse, street violence and so on, are symptomatic. To attack a symptom rather than a cause is to waste one's life. To lead a whole movement to attack that symptom, as was done during crusades for prohibition in the U.S., is to subvert that movement and destroy its effectiveness.

This I feel the U.S. antiporn movement has done. My assumption would be that the Canadian movement is little different.

During the latter half of the 70's as a concerted effort was being made to wipe out women's legal gains, the U.S. women's movement was almost entirely diverted into a satisfyingly easy and self-indulgent campaign. Though police might sporadically attack demonstrators, there is in fact no government that will come out in support of porn during a swing to the right (damn few during a liberal swing, for that matter). There is no real battle here. Compared to winning on daycare, education, abortion, ERA, equal pay, "winning" against pornographers is child's play. They are already marginal. Politicians can pass laws against the industry to applause from Bible Belt constituencies. THIS IS NOT A FIGHT. It's a sled-ride.

Pornography is sexist and incites men to violence against women. EVERYTHING IN THIS SOCIETY IS SEXIST AND INCITES MEN TO VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.

Damn.

What has happened in the more sincere cases is that women have discovered a previously (to them) unknown and repugnant facet of sexism. But their reactions have been channeled by women whose motives I feel are not pure. Women who have succumbed to an effortless course of righteous indignation AFTER getting over the first shock of their (certainly significant) discoveries. Women who cannot accept their own sexuality, for example some who only orgasm to masochistic fantasies yet insist that S/M sex play is evil and fascistic; women who accept a binary view of morality with distinctly conservative leanings, for example some who find sex a positive, even lyrical experience, except if you get paid for it. People who alas feel utterly qualified to analyse lives and feelings they know nothing about. That's the most damning point for me: the hard core of this movement in the U.S. has zero interest in hearing what women who know have to say on such issues as S/M, working in the sex industry, youth sexuality. Those who have that interest drop or are pushed out.

My grimmest expectation is that 20 years from now we will all be reading in Ms. how the FBI infiltrated and subverted the women's movement through the porn issue.

However, it doesn't take that direct an influence to accomplish what has been accomplished, i.e. the near total destruction of the women's movement as a radical force. All it really takes is ignorance and laziness. That sounds harsh. I can't think any other way about the kind of brutal stupidity I've read so often in response to Samois, NAMBLA, or any other radical sexual stance in the women's press. A shame and a scandal, that gay male publications like The Advocate and basically gay male ones like GCN or Gay Insurgent are the only places where intelligent comment on sex issues can be made by radical U.S. feminists right now—that radical sex IN-FORMATION (not just opinion) is systematically suppressed by the so-called feminist press. Off Our Backs has consistently refused to print ads for Samois publications. A women's paper in Wisconsin (I think it was—it was a year ago, though my info was firsthand I'm now hazy) refused to print a small notice stating that a lesbian feminist S/M support group was forming in their area. Feminists express shock and horror that GCN would print an ad for Britain's Pedophile Information Exchange (a bill is currently before parliament asking that this group be banned, like the IRA.) Etc. etc. etc. The pattern is consistent.

This is all totally connected with the anti-porn movement, though they have, out here at least, refused to make a public statement as a group about S/M;

they in fact held a "forum" on S/M here, totally negative, to benefit their coffers—but of course that (and hundreds of other statements and the use of S/M in their slide shows, etc.) doesn't count; they still always claim to take no position on it. Very aggravating. The correlation between anti-kink attitudes and anti-porn groups is nearly 1:1. They are 95% the same people.

background and is a "stigma" of the whole controversy, that is, the anti-porn bookstores often refuse to carry it. Some 4 feminist bookstores in the U.S. have explicitly stated their policy of censorship of S/M or other sex-related feminist material; many others do so but don't announce the fact. Others take the profit but insist on perjorative comment-notes, etc. above the spot on the bookshelf that contains the offending material. The division between those who support non-traditional sex material and those who do not is precisely defined by the anti-porn influence in the store or publication.

What is going on is so clear to me that I may be skipping certain points out of familiarity. I can't sit



down and analyze dispassionately my entire response to the A-P movement and my bitterness about what they have reduced feminism to. It's one of those things that has to be lived through by each explorer. I was never a member of an anti-porn group, though I have (and still do) defended their point that pornography as it exists is sexist. However, they seem incapable of envisioning non-sexist pornography, or non-sexist prostitution, an incapacity that alarms me. The "erotica" cop-out I can't accept: a fuck book is a fuck book. An artificial name division tries to set up a qualitative difference between being aroused and being aroused, rather than facing the plain tedious and difficult fact that the problem, as always, is sexism. Not pornography, sexism in pornography. Let's say that the point at which they separate sex from sexism is different from the point at which I do

I think Kathleen Barry essentially feels that sex without love is a sin. I don't. It's basically that simple. Who can read her descriptions of prostitutes and fail to notice her condescension? She makes good points, yet she is sometimes intellectually lazy and she is prudish. I don't mean to single her out, but she is an example in that her least-researched pronouncements, in this climate of sexual reaction, can be hailed as mottos and profound insights by what purports to be "the women's movement", that is, WAVPM, WAVAW, and the reactionary feminist media. (what is it about the media that attracts/encourages this sort of thing?) (is it the attraction to a certain type of power-hungry person, like political office?).

The current situation in the U.S., with incredibly repressive sexual legislation before state and federal houses and courts, was and is aided and abetted by the anti-porn movement. Anti-porn groups have thrown their weight behind "kiddie-porn" and age of consent campaigns designed to prevent children from participating in consensual sexual activities. The publisher of the children's sex education book SHOW ME has removed the book from publication because two states passed laws making any commercial photographic depiction of nude persons under eighteen a crime. There is no doubt in my mind that WAVAW applauds these laws. Though as usual they probably "have no official position".

The nitty gritty fact is, once again, that they don't see what I see. They don't see men and boys in loving relationships. AND they refuse to look. All they know is men's abusive behaviour towards girls and they don't want to know anything else. It would make life seem complicated. I'm just repeatedly appalled at the obtusity of some of the stands they take, though I understand how easy that is to do when you have incomplete information. What I don't understand is the ones who repeatedly reject all offers of the information they lack, all offers of dialog. I can't call them in any

meaningful sense feminist. I see them as divisive and reactionary and self-serving. No real feminist is afraid to dialog. To me, the absorption of information is so integral to feminism. I mean hands-on experience information, not just crackpot theories. Listening to working class, black, etc. women by the predominantly white middle class movement has been the ONLY thing that kept feminism alive. Now that has come to a roadblock. Unfortunately coinciding with the resurgence of reaction in the U.S. You can see the result, so I think the **process** that led to that result must be severely questioned.

When "feminists" and Jerry Falwell and the FBI and Ronnie Raygun take identical stands on issues, there is goddam well cause for alarm. There is something very wrong. Look at the alignments that are formed. That's all that should really be necessary to sound a tocsin from one end of the land to the other.

Camilla Decarnin is a radical feminist pervert living in San Francisco. Rumors of her omniscience have been greatly exaggerated.

SEX IN THE SPECTACULAR SOCIETY

by Ron Hayley

The Objectification of Women

To objectify means to treat a thinking, active person (a "subject") as a thing or object. All oppressed people are treated as objects by their oppressors — as mere tools. Women, Gayle Rubin points out in her article, The Traffic in Women, were the first commodities. They were treated as "gifts", or exchangeable property, for purposes of cementing alliances between various tribal units. This occurred as soon as men became active in the sphere of "public affairs" — gradually asserting control over the political interactions occurring between groups and individuals. Women were viewed as property because that was literally their destiny — to serve as wives, mothers, and sexual playmates. Their utility to other tribes stemmed from their importance as means of reproduction (baby-makers), and as productive workers.

Gradually, as the great majority of men became themselves subject to class oppression — became themselves mere instruments of labour — it became necessary to actively repress their desires, to repress their sensual, intuitive selves as a means of deadening them against the tremendous "mortification of the flesh" that comes with a labouring existence. With the emergence of classes, and the worldview in which the vast majority of human beings were treated as mere "raw material", the prevailing instrumentalism (the view that sees everything as exploitable) carried over into social philosophies of nature. Nature was something to be conquered and repressed just as people's own nature (particularly, their "female" nature) was to be conquered and suppressed. Gradually, women came to represent all those things - nature, sensuality, intuition which were evil. Hence, woman became the "temptress": Eve corrupted Adam by succumbing to the serpent and inducing; him to eat the apple from the tree of knowledge. Women came to be seen as being responsible for the downfall of men (the Sirens in Greek mythology, etc.).

Sex In A Spectacular Society

These factors — the treatment of women as means of reproduction, and the necessity experienced by men to suppress their "female" nature — are still operating and partially account for the ways in which men objectify women today. However, with the growth of modern "consumer" capitalism, a new element has been added to the objectification of women. This new element is the objectification of "the spectacle" (a

term coined by the French political theoreticians — the Situationists).

The spectacle is a natural outgrowth of capitalism. Capitalism is a society in which products are produced not for their usefulness to people (their use-value), but for their ability to translate into cash in the market-place (for their exchangevalue). Since capitalism is premised on an unlimited expansion of production, at a certain point, the capitalists are forced to create new needs to sustain the cycle of buying and selling. Most production which occurs in North America has nothing to do with the creation of the essentials of life. Most production involves the production of goods and services to fill artificial needs - everything from purple, scented toilet paper to cars and clothes whose styles change every year (and wear out just as fast) to video games and Pac Man ice cream bars. In the interests of selling products and keeping its slaves submissive, capitalism has redefined living to mean consumption. Life and liveliness are not attributes we possess by virtue of being alive. All the properties of life can only be obtained from without from commodities. It is not we who intrinsically possess sex appeal — it is the toothpaste we consume. "Coke Adds Life", satisfaction comes from a cigarette, and gusto comes from a beer.

Since it is essential that we be maintained in a state of dependence on external commodities, we are conditioned to measure our satisfaction in living against the "ideal" images of life presented to us by the media (and, in the advertisements, of course, life is always equated with consuming a particular product). How does this affect the way a man looks at a woman? For one thing, a woman is not only a "sex object", or a prospective wife or mother, she is also a mere substitute for the image of the ideal woman which he has been conditioned to desire. He interacts with her not as a concrete, living individual, but as a possible (or partial) fulfillment of his ideal.

Sex, in the society of the spectacle (the Situationists' name for modern consumer capitalism), has become, like every other aspect of life: a spectator sport. Since we, by definition, cannot on our own merits possess the qualities that would enable us to create and experience genuine love and intimacy, we are reduced to salivating over the exploits of those who presumably do. We compensate for our own impotence by living a lie—by consuming images of women who are paid to look hungry,











desirous, horny - enthralled at the prospect of possessing a man's cock — when, in reality, they're just bored wage slaves trying to earn a cheque, or else actual slaves forced into committing sex acts by means of violence or drugs (e.g. Linda Lovelace). The more impotent we experience ourselves, the less we can tolerate women in any position but submissive. If women won't freely acknowledge our power sexually, we will impose that power violently (if not in reality, then through images). The artificial scarcity of sex in our society (the fact that in capitalist cities people find it so difficult to meet, and to measure up to the artificially imposed standards of desirability) leads to frustration, and to feelings of aggression against those who "incite" these feelings. The more men are unable to experience the "real thing" — either through its absence altogether or through its distortion — the more they want to "get back" at women, and the more dependent they become on vicarious sexual experiences. And through the widespread promotion of violent pornography and generally sadistic images of women, men are further conditioned to treat women as an outlet for all their frustrations — as a violent outlet for all the needs and desires which society represses or forces them to repress.

Our Sexual Needs

"Is this so private — our struggle in the bedroom?..

We couldn't perform the way the other wanted —
these social dreams put in practice in the bedroom."

—Gang of Four

What needs seek expression in the sexual act? Apart from pure physical eroticism, I reckon two: 1)the desire for communion (intimacy)— the feeling that comes from forgetting about one's ego, and "going with the flow", and 2)our desire to be experienced by another person as a needed human being a source of love, excitement and abandon. Each of these is a necessary component in sex. Men, by and large, have been trained to not "let go", to not give way to their emotions, and hence their satisfaction is curtailed. Women have been conditioned to experience their ability to influence others only in its passive, masochistic form. Writing about the socialization of women throughout history, which aims at training them to accept their status as "sex-objects", Gayle Rubin remarks, "From the standpoint of the system, the preferred female sexuality would be one which responded to the desires of others, rather than one which actively desired and sought a response." 2

The ideal human commodity is one which identifies with being an "object of desire". Men, on the other hand, have been conditioned to experience only the active side of influencing people, and to deem themselves a failure if they do not awaken the most extravagant ecstacy. Either that or they concern themselves solely with their own gratification. Both attitudes proceed from a common unconcern with the needs and feelings of the "other". Both treat love as an act of consumption (woman as sex-object), and as a moment in the spectacle (sex as a "performance", with the necessity to keep up one's "image").

The Politics of Sex

The distortion of sex by the spectacle, by the patriarchy, has created a situation in which sex is particularly unsatisfying for both sexes. Increasingly, both women and men - particularly, though not exclusively, since the 60's - have been rebelling against the straitjacket of sexual roles, and have been seeking to redefine their sexual identity. The gay movement, in part, can perhaps be seen as an attempt by men to discover the pleasurable aspects of "objectification" — the fun that can be had from being attractive, showy, from taking pride in one's body, whereas the lesbian s/m movement can be seen as an attempt to discover the experience of "power", or of being "in control" — an aspect of sex which has been largely denied to women. In a certain sense, the current crisis in the feminist movement over the issue of sexuality can be seen as a mini-"crisis of everyday life". The old conceptions of sex just don't fit the bill (and this includes a lot of the values mapped out by some feminists as an alternative). Many people are rejecting the notion that sex without love is unsatisfying, and the idea that any dominant/submissive role-playing in sex is bad, as being too puritanical and merely the flip side of bourgeois morality (the other side being the phoney "sexual liberation" of singles bars and the like).

Sex in this society is an alienating experience. We want and we deserve intensely satisfying sex. It's not easy simultaneously combatting sexual repression and sexual distortion. To discover the sexual intensity that's been denied us requires experimentation — there's no other way. On the other hand, just because we let go of some our hang-ups doesn't mean that what comes out is going to be automatically pure. As Mariana Valverde has commented, our unchained fantasies do not necessarily "indicate" our "true' sexual desires" any more than a 'Mac attack' indicates a true need for food. "Our goal is sexual liberation, not repression, but that doesn't relieve us of the responsibility for redefining our sexual needs. Men benefit

from the oppression and objectification of women only to the extent that they allow the system to determine their personal values and requirements. On a more fundamental level, they suffer for it — as I have tried to indicate in my discussion of sexual needs. We are all human beings. We all need the same things. We must reject the false poles of self-interest, on the one hand, and the idea of making revolution out of self-hatred or out of a desire for martyrdom, on the other. Mutual fulfillment (hetero- or homosexually, as we choose) is the only possible basis for our collective individual freedom.

1. & 2.—The quote from Gayle Rubin's The Traffic in Women can be found in Toward An Anthropology of

Women, p. 182. This provocative essay helps lay the ground-work for a theory of gender. My brief account of the origin of women's oppression is necessarily speculative. For a full treatment of the conflicting anthroplogical views, see the above book, which serves as an excellent introduction to the subject. Edited by Rayna Reiter, it is available from Monthly Review Press.

3. See Mariana Valverde's review of Coming to Power (an anthology of lesbian s/m writings put out by Samois) in the September issue of *Broadside*. Her review is well worth reading, as it takes care to avoid the "opposite poles of the same stupidity" so frequently encountered in this sensitive subject.

KEEP YOUR LAWS OFF OUR BODIES!

by Julia Sorel

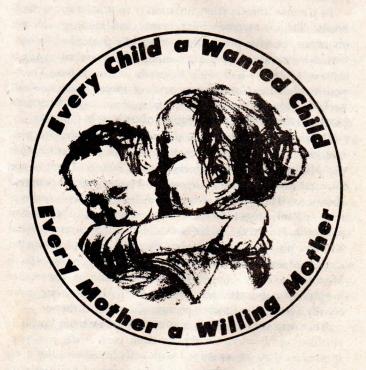
Last November 18th, a large public meeting was held in Toronto to support the opening of a free-standing abortion clinic. The keynote speaker was Dr. Henry Morgentaler. About 1,000 people attended the meeting. Only 600 could fit into the auditorium, and the rest crowded the halls of the building, chanting and singing to drown out the hymns being sung by about 30 pro-lifers who were attempting to disrupt the meeting; the pro-lifers had earlier precipitated a struggle with marshals when they attempted to force their way into the auditorium.

The announcement of the coming opening of a clinic came as a surprise to most Torontonians, even those active in the women's movement. Last spring Dr. Morgentaler-- well known for pioneering the vacuum aspiration technique in Canada and, in 1969, founding and keeping open an abortion clinic in Montreal, despite state persecution--announced to the press that he was planning to open a clinic in Ontario. Upon hearing this an ad hoc group of women who had been active on the issue for some years contacted him. As well, a Toronto physician, Dr. Leslie Smoling, offered to operate the clinic in Toronto. The Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics was born, with Morgentaler offering the full support of his name, experience and reputation.

Why clinics? In 1969 the Criminal Code was amended to allow abortions to be performed in accredited hospitals after a Therapeutic Abortion Committee, composed of three doctors, deemed that to carry on with the pregnancy would be dangerous to the health or life of the woman. (At the same time, the Code was amended to allow the legal sale of contraceptives.) Though this was a great liberalization, pro-choice forces still weren't satisfied. The women's movement continued to agitate for free abortion on demand.

By 1972, it was apparent to the women's health movement, the new law was not allowing the unrestricted access to abortion which is essential for women's control of their bodies and lives. In 1971, the Candian Psychiatric Association and the

Canadian Medical Association recommended that the "accredited hospital" stipulation be removed from the Code, as the vacuum aspiration technique had proven that abortions could be most safely and easily performed in free-standing clinics.



The government rejected this recommendation, as it rejected similar recommendations in 1977 from the women's health movement, and in 1978 from a caucus of women lawyers. The situation continued to deteriorate.

In the meantime, Dr. Morgantaler had opened his clinic in Montreal in 1969. He considered that the law tied the hands of physicians who were willing to perform abortions. The clinic provided ready access to safe, inexpensive abortions. Morgentaler was arrested for the first time in 1973. His defense was based on Article 45 of the Criminal Code which states that, under certain circumstances, physicians may contavene the Code. Though the jury acquitted him, the appeals court unprecedentedly overturned the acquittal and sentenced him to 18 months in prison, during which time he suffered a heart attack.

While in prison, Morgentaler was tried on another charge. The Supreme Court of Canada had circumscribed the Article 45 defense. However, he was one again acquitted by the jury. He used the common law defense of preventing a greater evil — that is, if he had not performed the abortion in question, the woman would have either obtained an unsafe abortion or been forced to carry the pregnancy to term, against her will. He was also retried on the first charge and, using the common law defense, was again acquitted. In the light of the impossibility of obtaining a conviction from a jury, and of the tremendous public outcry against his unjust imprisonment, Morgentaler was finally released from prison. In 1976, the Quebec Minister of Justice stated publicly that physicians in Quebec who performed medically safe abortions would not be prosecuted. In the wake of pronouncement, other clinics opened in Quebec including, three years ago, government-funded clinics for contraception and abortion. It was this legal precedent that led Morgentaler toward opening a clinic in Toronto and, after Toronto, elsewhere in Canada.

In Canada, the abortion situation is approaching pre-1969 levels. That is, women with money and mobility can get abortions, but the procedure is effectively proscribed for women who cannot readily lay their hands on several hundred dollars. Only one-half of the hospitals in Canada have Therapeutic Abortion Committees, and, of those, about one-half perform very few abortions. In fact, about eight hospitals perform the majority of hospital abortions in Canada.

Province by province, the situation is as follows. Morgentaler regularly performs abortions in his clinic for women from the Maritime povinces, Quebec, and Ontario. There is one hospital in Nova Scotia, situated in Halifax, which performs abortions. There are none on Prince Edward Island, and women in P.E.I. regularly travel two and one-half days to get to clinics in Montreal. In Newfoundland, there is one hospital with one phsyician who performs abortions. That physician has a quota of seven per week. In New Brunswick, one hospital in Moncton recently stopped performing abortions. Two other hospitals in the province do very few. Abortions are more readily available in Quebec because of the clinics there.

The situation in Ontario is mixed. There are many hospitals performing abortions in the southern part of the province. However, they are swamped with calls because of the great concentration of population, and the dearth of facilities elsewhere in Ontario. Many women from Toronto travel to Buffalo for abortions. Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, North Bay, and Kirkland Lake each have one hospital which performs abortions. However, the situation is still bad enough that women from Sudbury regularly travel twelve hours by bus to Morgentaler's clinic in Montreal. North of Kirkland Lake there are few physicians who are even willing to refer women to hospitals for abortions.

In the prairie provinces, about 50% of the women desiring abortions regularly travel to the U.S. The situation in British Columbia, where there are relatively many hospitals with Therapeutic Abortion Committees, is better. But the B.C. hospitals are under much pressure from anti-choice forces and the situation is precarious.

Over-all, the situation is as follows. The few hospitals which readily perform abortions are well-known and swamped with calls. Consequently, they set up quotas. In one downtown Toronto teaching hospital, each gynecologist has a quota of

five per week. In this hospital, the Therapeutic Abortion Committee amounts to a rubber-stamping body. Out of 800 abortions requested in 1980, only one was refused. Thus, the Therapeutic Abortion Committees are both a waste of time and an insult to all women.

And time is of the essence. Each week's delay of the operation increases the danger of complication by 20%, and the danger of mortality by 30%. Women commonly have to wait two to three weeks for the operation after the case is presented to the Therapeutic Abortion Committee. As a result of the long delays, Canada is second only to India in per capita number of second trimester abortions. A second trimester saline abortion is a much more dangerous and expensive procedure, five to ten times more risky than a first trimester abortion. In contrast, a medically safe first trimester abortion is ten times safer than childbirth, and one hundred times safer than caesareans (which are vastly on the increase in North American hospitals).

In Toronto, most gynecologists have opted out of the provincial medical insurance plan. Thus, besides the delays and difficulty in obtaining an abortion in the first place, a woman must be able to come up with \$300. — often demanded up-front by the doctor. If she can wait eight weeks, the province will reimburse her \$100. The problem of extra billing is endemic in other provinces as well.

The Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics is made up of women's groups and clinics which have been active on the issue for some years. They are fully supported by women's groups in Toronto, as well as by organized labour and the left. The clinic was set to open on November 2nd, but the landlord reneged on the lease. They will be opening as soon as a suitable premise can be found. The basic charge for an abortion will be \$250., on a sliding scale down to zero. There has been a campaign organized for the abortions performed in the clinic to be covered by provincial medical insurance. The clinic and their doctor, Leslie Frank Smoling, are prepared to be prosecuted. However, they are hoping that Roy McMurtry, Ontario Minister of Justice (the person responsible for the notorious gay bathhouse raids), will cite the Quebec precedent, and not prosecute. If prosecuted, they are confident they will be acquitted. They hope to be able to keep the clinic operating before and during the trial, should one occur.

Women's groups in Saskatoon, Winnepeg, and British Columbia, are also planning to set up clinics. Women's groups all over are gearing up for the battle over one of the most important issues to face us in recent years. Seventy-two percent of Canadians support free access to abortion. We will win—for as one speaker declared at the November 18th meeting to a rousing standing ovation, "We are the majority!".

If you wish to help, write and phone Larry Grossman, Ontario Minister of Health, to demand that free-standing abortion clinics be legalized. And to Roy McMurtry, Ontario Minister of Justice, demanding that he not prosecute physicians who perform medically safe abortions. (Postage is not

required on letters to Members of Parliament or Provincial Legislators, so write early and often.) Also contact the Canadian Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws in Toronto, or in your own community. They can put you in touch with the O.C.A.C. or groups in your own area.

Leonard Peltier Interview:

FROM INSIDE THE IRON HOUSE

The following is a telephone interview with Leonard Peltier which was done by Ishbel of the Toronto Leonard Peltier Support Committee. The interview became a personal conversation in several places, and thus is perhaps more intensively edited than normally done. Transcribing and editing was performed by Christopher Alice and Raven Williamson.

Ishbel: Go ahead.

L.P.: Greetings to my Canadian Brothers and Sisters. Seven years ago while I was visiting relatives in Canada I was arrested by the RCMP and told the U.S. had an arrest warrant out for me for the killings of 2 FBI agents on the Great Lakota Nation, Pine Ridge South Dakota. I was immediately taken from my place of arrest in Alberta to Vancouver B.C. and served with extradition papers. I was turned over to the RCMP for a small reward by Small Boys people, at Small Boys Camp. My immediate response to all these false accusations of murder was; well you are not going to pin this one on me and I am going to fight you because I know I cannot and will not receive a fair trial anyplace except on an Indian Reservation in the United States of America, and so I resisted extradition.

My family, friends and Peoples Warrior society (the American Indian Movement, A.I.M.), came immediately to my defense. Immediately these people were outright harrassed, intimidated and in numerous incidents even threatened with their lives by both Border and other police agencies on both sides of the border of Canada and the United States. Still this did not stop nor even discourage these courageous people as they knew very well I was going to be framed and railroaded into prison, possibly even murdered. Indian history is filled with evidence of this happening and my case was no different as far as they were concerned. They came with the attitude that nothing on Earth was going to stop them from supporting and defending me. Although the majer news services in Canada identified me as a vicious, cold-blooded cop killer, a lot of Canadian unions and non-unions still came and stood boldly and defiantly at our sides.

Most if not all understood Indian peoples struggles because some had either witnessed or experienced the frameups I would be recieving. This act of aggression by the news media was successful in having a large number of doors closed to us; doors to offices of people who might have been able to help us expose what was being done to me through the judiciary system of both countries. From the moment the extradition hearings began on May 13, 1976, the U.S. government presented evidence of eyewitness testimony in affodavit form



from a woman named Murtle Poor Bear. To collaborate this evidence, they also threw in evidence that is known as circumstancial as well as evidence of other crimes. All of this was to give an appearance that the U.S. government had enough evidence to support their allegations of my guilt, and to show the public that they were doing everything legal and were following the rules and laws to legally extradite me. From the first day when the eyewitness testimony was given, I began to protest and argue that Myrtle Poor Bear was a fictitious person and that no one knew her.

We began to demand an investigation into this very serious and outright blatant violation of the extradition treaty, ratified by U.S. Congress and the Canadian House of Parliament. I also argued that this outrageous act was just another selected persecution against us, A.I.M. leaders and members who chose to expose the crimes being committed against the Indian People both in Canada and the United States. Although the defense made every argument possible to show that fabricated evidence was used during my extradition hearing to the Canadian Minister of "Justice", Ron Basford, he still denied my request for political asylum and stated that the U.S. government had presented enough evidence according to the extradition laws and signed the order for extradition. Under extradition in Canadian law, an eyewitness to the charge of murder must be presented.

On Dec. 18 1976 I was extradited back from Canada for trial in the Federal district of Fargo, North Dakota. Immediately local news media and law enforcement agencies were told by the FBI of large numbers of violent and disruptive armed supporters that were to descend upon Fargo during the trial. This immediately began to create chaos and dissension

among the local citizens and Indian people, seriously damaging my chances of ever getting an unbiased jury of peers. During the pre-trial hearings, evidence began to slowly surface that there had been a major conspiracy to violate international treaty laws while extraditing me from Canada. Co-conspirators being the Canadian Prosecutor Halpean, U.S. special prosecutors Evan Holtman, Robert Sigma, Lyn Crooks, and of course the FBI.

After being denied repeated motions for still another change of venue from racist, Indian hating Fargo, North Dakota, my forcible trial began in March 1977. The government lawyers were allowed to present over six weeks of circumstancial evidence, and the great majority of it was irrelevant to the case in question. I was only allowed 2 1/2 days to present my defense. Everything else we tried to present in my defense was ruled by the co-conspiriter Judge Benson as irrelevant. We heard the government present evidence of an A-R semi-automatic rifle as being the murder weapon, and that I was the sole owner of this weapon. We heard evidence from two pathologists that both agents were killed by one calibre weapon-namely the A-R 15. We heard evidence of an FBI agent sighting me through a 2-plus power rifle scope at over 1/2 mile distance running from the murder scene. All this evidence is what is called circumstantial as it is all theory with no concrete evidence to support it, as no one testified to even seeing me shooting at the agents, let alone killing them. Naturally, as for being literally denied the right to defend myself I was found guilty on April 18th 1977 and sentenced to two consecutive life sentences in Federal prison.

I must first serve one life sentence then I begin the 2nd, if this is possible. After my appeal through various appeal courts was denied, my attorneys began over a 5 year long legal battle to obtain my Freedom of Information act files, of which the feds admitted to having over 12,000 pages.

A couple of years ago after court orders, they slowly began to turn over these documents. A little over 6,000 pages was turned over. They have still another 5,000, but are refusing to release them claiming "National Security". On April 20th 1982, we filed over a 2,000 page Habeas Corpus, S.S.-2255 Appeal Writ. This appeal can be filed only with new evidence. We enclosed over 1900 pages in this appeal writ.

We can now prove the evidence used against me was false and fabricated. We can now prove the alleged murder weapon was not the murder weapon. The pathologist's testimony was false as both agents were killed by different calibre weapons. At the moment right now, we're in the process of a waiting period for Judge Benson to set a date for what is called an evidentiary hearing. When this will come about we won't know until Judge Benson sets it.

Ishbel: If you don't get this trial, where do you go from there?

L.P.: Well first let me explain what happens: First

Judge Benson has to set a hearing, the evidence is so strong as I mentioned earlier, some 1900 pages of it, especially the murder weapon. That document alone isn't enough to get me a trial, but we've got all this other supporting evidence. First he sets what is called an evidentiary hearing. This hearing is to make your record real clear in case we have to appeal it. But he can overturn it and order me a new trial. If he doesn't, if he confirms it, we set the record real clear and then we go into the 8th Circuit Court of Appeal in St. Louis, Missouri. We appeal there and if they deny it, then we go on to the Supreme court.

Ishbel: Have you been able to get new lawyers to represent you in court?

L.P.: I got Bill Kunstler, Lewis Gurgs, and Bruce Ellison. I think I got the best legal team in the country right now.

Ishbel: There was a precedent setting case in the U.S. where a man was extradited illegally, and so they proved therefore that his entire trial was illegal and he walked right out?

L.P.: That's right. That's just what happened to me. But just got to get somebody in Canada to push it.

Ishbel: One of the things is to pressure the Canadian Government here to pressure the U.S. because they're tied right into it, they're implicated in this. There's two things they (Canadian Government) can demand: One, that you get a fair trial, or two, that you are returned to Canada.

L.P.: This is guaranteed in a specific article in the extradition treaty that guarantees me that any country releasing a person to the country requesting extradition guarantees that this country séeking extradition will give the person a fair trial. And as evidence now reveals, that did not happen. Well, that treaty was violated by the prosecutors and the FBI. Therefore, just from that alone, the Canadian Government has a right to order me back (to Canada).

Ishbel, we got real strong, powerful, powerful evidence that I was railroaded. Now we can prove that there were admitted racists that sat as my jury of peers. We know of one positively. But we don't know if the rest were as they were all older people and come from the same class, the same lifestyle. This was the youngest person on the jury too, this was a 25 year old woman. The rest of the people were 50, 60, 70 years old. Those are people teaching this 25 year old to be racist. There are so many avenues that you can attack, that you can put pressure on the Canadian Government to order me back. They have the power to do it.

Ishbel: That's the angle that all the media is taking here with it. They all want to push the Canadian connection and that the Canadian prosecutor who was working for the Canadian Government knew that it was false evidence.

L.P.: Yes, we got it on record. A couple of years ago or

maybe even longer, after we started receiving certain documents and stuff like this here, Peter Grant, one of my lawyers at that time, saw how the Canadian prosecutor was involved in this whole conspiracy. He made the statement to the press that totally ran this man down (the prosecutor). Well the prosecutor filed a lawsuit libel against Peter. They went to trial and Judge Anderson saw that my lawyers were right. So to cover up for the prosecutor he told the prosecutor you should not have come this far. This case should never have come to trial. All you should have asked for was an apology and therefore I am dismissing it. Since he (Canadian prosecutor Halpern) was still denying that he had any involvement and just when we recieved my freedom of information documents, we found a document where he (Halpern), and Sigma were involved from the beginning on which false documents to use. So therefore that clearly proves his guilt. They were all involved in this major conspiracy to violate international law. That is very, very strong legal ground for the Canadian Government to request me back. Peter and them are going to want to file a lawsuit against them now. I don't know, (we just sent them the documents recently) how far along they are in it.

Ishbel: I felt so good about the meetings we've been having here. People's hearts are really being moved about it and its really bringing people together, and people are really saying that they are going to commit themselves to it and keep struggling. We've got different Black People's organizations and other groups like that contacting us and wanting to give support and its really, really growing real well. L.P.: Its really picking up momentum over here in the U.S. too. We're pushing to have a petition of over one million names by the end of November on Judge Benson's desk requesting (this is just from the U.S.) that he remove himself. Hopefully world-wide we can double that figure. We're receiving the names faster than we can get out into the streets and collect them. We got to get more and more volunteers for this.

Ishbel: One of the other things I was wondering was in relation to what's happened to Dino and Gary Butler up in Vancouver, B.C., Canada. When they were tried with what you were charged with, they were able to have the Pipe in the courtroom. Were you able to do that?

L.P.: Yes I was. Yes I was allowed to have the Pipe there. In fact having the Pipe there had such an effect on the witnesses that a lot of them just wouldn't even look over there. They were all lying anyway, seriously they were. I knew they were sitting there lying, but what could you do, you know what I mean? These old rednecks think I'm just a bloody savage anyway right, and if I had just jumped up there and said "you're lying", they would just think this guy is just a nut. You know what I mean?

The pipe has a very, very strong effect on our people

and they're trying to exclude the pipe from the courtroom. It wasn't even until 1978 that they even recognized that we had a religion anyway. It was outlawed here until the first part of the 19th century.

Ishbel: It still hasn't been officially recognized in Canada.

L.P. Here either. Even though the President signed it into Law, we're still not being recognized. We got to get a permit to go pray in our sacred grounds. But everything is going real, real good Ishbel. Everything is going real good. And I think if we all continue going on this way we're going to be victorious by spring. I feel it. I feel it because the appeal I got, the Habeas Corpus is not strong, its powerful. Literally powerful. I got them by the tail. Now it's just a matter of putting public pressure on them, because they're not about to admit what they did. This not only involves domestic law, but also international law. And they're not going to say "okay we violated all this and we did that and this". They're going to deny it to the end. We just have to expose it to the public. We're on the right track right now. I feel pretty good about it. I feel very optimistic about it.

Another thing that I'm asking a lot of people to do is to have people start writing to Viking Press, (I believe it's in New York City) and start pre-ordering "I'm the Spirit of Crazy Horse", by Peter Matheson. This is the book that's going to be made into a major movie about my whole case and the Indian struggle in general. Peter is an internationally known author and the book is dynamite . . .

Ishbel: There was an RCMP officer who testified against you in Fargo, North Dakota, wasn't there? L.P.: Yes.

Ishbel: Wasn't that RCMP Simpson or something like that? Wasn't his name Simpson?

L.P.: Uh, I can't think of his name offhand. He was up there lying. Well they all lied in Canada.

Ishbel: But he didn't testify in the trial in Canada, did he?

L.P.: No.

Ishbel: Did he take the stand in Canada?

L.P.: Yes he took the stand but he didn't say anything. What happened was when he got over to Fargo, he got on the stand and he said "oh, wait a minute, I just thought of something." Then my lawyer asked, "What do you mean you just thought of something?" "Well it just came to my mind right now", and he went into his testimony. They had it all preplanned, you know what I mean? Its all on the record.

Ishbel: That is funny.

L.P. Yeah I was sitting there dumbfounded. What the hell is this?

Ishbel: Because that's one of the things I've been putting out and the way I've been wording it was just that it was very odd that he didn't remember that in Vancouver and suddenly he remembered it down in Fargo ...

L.P.: Yeah, almost over 2 years later he remembered it.

Ishbel: God, that's crazy ... your spirits up then?

L.P.: I feel better now than I did two, three years ago.

Three years ago I felt pretty down. You're sitting here in prison and thinking to yourself, "them SOB's framed me, they railroaded me into prison and my future is like being in a dark tunnel." You can't see no light, you can't see nothing. And you don't have no way to prove it. And then all this evidence starts coming up, coming into our posession, this Freedom of Information act stuff, which by the way Reagan has severely cut so now its almost impossible to get. I can now feel a little light at the end of the tunnel. It's just getting a little bigger and bigger all the time.

Ishbel: That's good. Real good.

L.P.: Because by law and by everything else we got them. We got them.

Ishbel: What about your transfer you applied for because of your Dad ...?

L.P.: That's another thing. My father had a heart attack and had triple bypasses put in his heart. And naturally it's a very serious operation. My father and I are quite close and he wants to come down all the time to visit. My father will only travel by automobile. He's very old-fashioned about trains, planes and stuff like that. He just does not want to travel like that. He wants to drive down here. Normally he only drives down here by himself or with my daughter; and that's quite a strain on him. And I have been trying to get transferred to North Dakota State Penitentiary which is a Maximum Security Institution. So I'll be closer to my father and my grandparents as they are quite elderly too. They're in their 80's. I'd like to see them and be close to them. I just got a letter from my daughter and she's talked about her and my dad, of how she took him to dinner and they were talking about how lonesome he was and he was trying to come up here, you know, trying to find the money to come up here. And so I wrote them a letter last night and told them "Look man, you guys just wait there, I'll be over there before the hearing, cause I don't want to take the chance of Dad taking a heart attack on the road, plus he's got real bad sugar diabetes, and he has to take shots all the time. And his legs, he got wounded in the War and got his legs all shot up. His legs are starting to affect him too now as he's getting up there in age (as he's 60 years old now). So I'm trying to get a transfer back over there right now in North Dakota. I'm trying to get a transfer out of the Federal prison system into the State system. I need a lot of support from people because the government is always putting out their propaganda about how lenient, about how good of a prison system they are and about how they try to put new prisoners closer to their families so they can continue their family ties.

Well, in my case, this is just not happening. And I need people to put public pressure on the attorney-general, the warden here, and the warden in North

Dakota. Harold Miller is the Warden here in Marion, Illinois, P.O. Box 1000, Marrion Illinois. 62959. So if I get a lot of letters written to those people that'll help.

Ishbel: Good. Have they been doing any more threatening to get you into the control unit?

L.P.: No they've been leaving me alone for the last couple of years, especially since I got a lot of media, well when Robert Redford came here, all that pressure stopped, well it eased up anyway. They quit harassing me directly. For a while I was going to the hole (solitary confinement) for everything under the sun; like the time I had too many stamps in my cell. You're only allowed ten dollars worth and I had something like eighteen dollars worth because I was sending some legal material or writing some writs and stuff like this and it costs us 2 or 3 dollars just to send mail out like that, you know. And they tried to say that I was the stamps connection. Like I was running a big stamp racket. Seriously, I laughed and said "what, you got to be kidding!"

Ishbel: Eighteen dollars worth of stamps?

L.P.: Seriously, I'm telling you the truth. The leiutenant in charge says, "Isn't it true Peltier, that you are the stamp connection in E block? And I almost choked and I said "What?" I almost couldn't believe it. But he said, "Isn't it true that you are the Stamp Connection in E Block? When people want stamps they come to you and they have to give you back double?"

I said, "Listen you got to be crazy. Who the hell ever heard of the Stamp Connection?" I left out the word "crazy" and said "you got to be kidding." I said "Man you're not serious are You?" He said "yes I'm serious. Damn right we're serious." I said "Well you're mistaken, Sir." I said "Jesus, this is ridiculous." This is just an example of what they were doing.

Ishbel: And so what did they give you in the Hole for that?

L.P.: I stayed down there for about 3 days.

Ishbel: So I guess they figure it's going to be around January or so that the judge will hand down whether ...

L.P.: Well let me put it this way. Nobody knows but he could set a date any day now. Where we are at now is just a waiting period. He could sit on it for 6 months, a year, but we're going to start raising hell if it starts going into that length of time period. But he could do it legally, because there are no specific dates or time schedules on any of this stuff. But I estimate, and some of the lawyers also figure that in the next 15 or 20 days he'll set a date for the hearing and when he sets that date it could be any time, you know. He could set it for January or December. I think he's going to wait for the more colder months in Fargo so I don't get much support there. Seriously I believe that's going to be their tactic.

Ishbel: So they don't get a big mobilization of caravans heading down there, that sort of thing?

L.P.: Right. Right. But he's mistaken because there's too many people out there that are enraged. And just from the local area alone we'll have two hundred or three hundred Indians there. So, plus Indian people coming in from around the country, I suspect that's what's going to happen, well I could be wrong. They could set a date for a hearing today. All they got to do is send down the order to Bruce Ellison. Ishbel: So that's why the whole letter writing campaign and the signature campaign got to really move fast?

L.P.: Right. Right. Definitely that's what we got to intensify all our efforts on. That's why we give a date for the end of November in having a million signatures on his (Judge Benson's) desk. So encourage everybody up there to really work hard on this.

Ishbel: The one thing I think that is so good about having the rally and the media attention is that a lot of people in Canada have never heard of you. And so you have to go through the whole thing of telling every person the whole case. But with this rally I got it right down so that the information is on one sheet; so people can read it and plus the rally's getting media attention again, so it's going to be really good.

L.P.: You know what we did in Vancouver when I was first starting the extradition hearing is that the people sent out a bunch of Indians and non-Indians alike with some tubs of paste and took all these posters and just plastered them all over Vancouver and all over the country. And it got a lot of response. I am still to this day getting some people saying, "Hey I was reading this old, old poster on this pole ..." You know what I mean ...

... There's a number of good prospects going right now. There's a good chance we're gonna have a hearing paid for as professional fundraisers are trying to raise the money right now. Some \$40-50,000 just to pay for the hearing. That's what it's going to cost us at least. Because the Government doesn't pay for nothing, we gotta pay for everything.

Ishbel: And that's the cost even without Bruce taking his salary on anything?

L.P.: That's right. Because we got to subpoena witnesses, it just adds up. You know how expensive everything is. And that's what we estimate it's going to cost us. It's going to cost us at least that. But we could be wrong, but anyway we think we got it paid. Boy, that will be a big relief. Because we might have to call in some of our witnesses, you know, specialists and people like this. And whatever's left can go to the lawyers who can take and put it in their pockets cause they've been working their butts off for 7 years now. It's coming together, It's coming together. I can feel real good about it.

Maybe this spring we'll have a victory celebration over there someplace. California says they're going to have one. Washington State says they're going to have one. North Dakota says they're going to have one. I'll be going to victory celebrations for about a year or so. Ishbel: I would think if I was in that situation I would want at least a month out in the bush.

L.P.: No, I want at least 2 or 3 months. Because I've got about 7 years of hate and bitterness built up in me and I want it out of me! You know to an extent where I am not going to run out of here like a wild man and stuff like this. It's just that to be able to leave properly and to think properly I'm going to need a little cleansing from all of this, this hate factory that I'm in. Just to think properly, to be a proper leader. I want to get all this out of me. I want to go someplace where there's no cities, no nothing and just relax.

Tell everyone up there I send my love and I love everybody and I really feel that we're going to be celebrating together. I think, I really believe it, I feel very, very good about it. It's coming close. We'll do it! We'll do it! O.K., Good Bye.

If you are interested in giving money or doing support work for Leonard Pelltier, or would like more information, please contact the Leonard Pelltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1492, Rapid City, South Dakota, USA 57709. Letters of solidarity can be sent to Leonard Pelltier, No. 89637-132, Box 1000, Marion, Illinois USA 62959. The local Toronto support committee can be contacted by calling (416) 598-2492.

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TV -- A SOCIAL DISEASE

by Alexandra Devon

What do Pierre Trudeau, Richard Nixon and the Litton bombers have in common? Answer: they all realize the power of television to create images.

When Trudeau decided to sneak into the nation's living rooms on three consecutive evenings, he created an uproar among his equally image-conscious fellow politicians. In answer to their squealing, the opposition leaders were offerred their own time slots in which to answer the Prime Minister's chats. Still it seemed they weren't satisfied. Joe Clark probably came closest to indicating why when he grumbled, "There's nothing to refute."

Television as a medium is not well suited to purveying content (which can be challenged or refuted), but accommodates itself incredibly well to the creation of images which imbed themselves in our consciousness, becoming in some cases indistinguishable from reality.

In the apology part of their communique, Direct Action states, "We were mistaken in believing that the Litton guards and police would be on top of things. The image of cops and guards as 'super-heroes' caused us to believe that they would have security and safety matters underway very quickly." In this case, the relation of the activists to images is more passive; they are the victims of images. The super-hero image is certainly a prevalent one in any of the growing number of cop shows on television. In the absence of any direct experience with how bomb squads or cops act in situations, they relied, it seems, on the "reality" presented through images on television or other media.

Richard Nixon relied on and so effectively exploited television that by his third campaign, he made only television appearances, never appearing in public. It's worth noting in passing that Lyndon Johnson, like the main character in *The Man Who Fell To Earth*, kept three television sets going in his office at all times.

Jerry Mander in Four Arguments For The Elimination Of Television begins with descriptions such as the above to demonstrate the uses to which television is admirably suited as a "unity machine" which links people together and manipulates them en masse. This linking has been seen as being neutral or almost positive as in Marshall McLuhan's celebration of our "planetary-tribal village". Mander, who speaks with the impressive credentials of a successful ex ad-man, makes a strong case for the way in which this technology, far from being neutral, "predetermines who shall use it, how they will use it, what effects it will have on individual lives, and, if it continues to be widely used, what sorts of political forms will inevitably emerge."

Mander goes on to advance four major arguments against television. These arguments attack 1) the mediation of experience; 2)the colonization of experience; 3)the effects of television on the human being, and 4) the inherent biases of television. All of these major arguments are bolstered by innumerable sub-arguments and countless well-chosen examples.

Central to his first argument, Mander contends that the growth and development of modern society has made us more susceptible than ever to the powers of television. "As humans

have moved into totally artificial environments, our direct contact with and knowledge of the planet has been snapped. Disconnected, like astronauts floating in space, we cannot know up from down or truth from fiction. Conditions are appropriate to the implantation of arbitrary realities. Television is one recent example of this, a serious one, since it greatly accelerates this problem."

Mander describes how in EST, thinking patterns are altered to recreate reality in a new form; this is accomplished by first disconnecting people from the reality which they have known before. He makes a strong case that television the "great influencing machine" likewise creates an arbitrary, or perhaps not so arbitrary, reality for our consumption.

In his second argument, Mander shows how television has been dominated by a handful of corporate powers and how it has been in the interests of these powers to create, through whatever means, a type of people who bolster the system they wish to maintain; it serves their needs to create consumers. In the process of creating consumers it is necessary to create new images which people must attempt to purchase, such as the image of the sexually desirable woman or man which everything from toothpaste to stereos promises to create. He quotes the Situationists (the prolific group of European intellectuals) that "whenever we buy a product we are paying for the recovery of our own feelings."

The third argument concerns the effcts of television, both psychological and physiological, on human beings. He poses some interesting questions in this section and provides some damning evidence of the negative effects T.V. can and does produce on the human body and psyche. He also points out the suspicious absence of much scientific questioning of the possible detrimental effects of the machine on the body.

The similarity of the activity of watching television and hypnosis is explored in a convincing manner. Many other questions are posed about the possibly damaging effects of T.V. on the individual's mind and body, including the adverse effects of the particular type of light which the machine exudes. Although many of his findings are necessarily tentative, they give ample evidence that more investigation should be done. The fact that so little has been done in the way of objective research on a piece of technology which has increasingly come to be part of so many people's lives is, in itself, a frightening revelation.

In the fourth argument, Mander's speaks most strongly to the "reformists"; he shows how television's highest potential is advertising or the purveyance of "gross, simplified linear messages." This he claims is inherent in the technology.

That there tends to be a bias against subtlety in television is obvious to anyone who watches it. Aggressive action shows do figure most prominently on television. However, Mander somewhat undercuts his argument by admitting that shows such as Scenes From A Marriage and Roots were able to portray such emotions as tenderness, affection, and caring; this might lead one to question how much of the problem is attributable to the medium and how much to the prevailing culture. Many of his arguments about the inherent bias could also be aimed at

the press. After all, what makes a good newspaper story often partakes of the same negative sensationalism as an "effective" television show.

"But why is it so unthinkable that we might eliminate a whole technology?", Mander asks after putting forward his major arguments. He doesn't answer this question directly but sums up the reasons it should be banned: 1)it is addictive, 2)a form of sense deprivation causing disorientation and confusion, 3)suppresses and replaces creative energy, encourages mass passivity, 4)limits and confines human knowledge, 5)can be readily used by corporate or political interests to "freewayize, suburbanize and commoditize human beings, who are then easier to control." In view of these very reasons it should be clear why television would be so difficult, or impossible to erradicate; that is to say that it will continue to exist as long as some powerful people profit from the effects which Mander describes. The technology's very effectiveness at producing what Mander sees as being negative consequences are precisely what makes it so popular with politicians and advertisers.

Mander stands firm on the question of whether television can be reformed through such things as better programming and banning of advertizing. To those revisionists who would argue for this approach he stresses that the medium determines the message, "No matter who is in control, the medium

remains confined to its cold, narrow culverts of hyperactive information."

The book ends with an idyllic vision of a world without television. In this utopia, people would have more contact with other people, their minds would once again become active, they would be less passive and therefore more likely to attack whatever forces were keeping them oppressed. The political process, he imagines, would also change as content would assert itself over style and the presently concentrated political and economic power would shift in the direction of more decentralized, non-capitalistic, community-based structures. Inherent in this analysis lies, I think, the greatest weakness of the book. His tendency to see television as the cause of the malaise of much of modern life, rather than, in large part, a symptom weakens his argument and greatly oversimplifies the complex problems of modern society.

While Mander shows himself, throughout the book, to be aware of how our lives are manipulated by various forces — from "authority" to government to big business — he somewhat myopically focuses on the elimination of television as a panacea for an inordinate number of our problems. Rather than strengthening his argument, it weakens it. To attack television in this way is tantamount to attacking one of the tentacles of an octopus. Not only will the other arms come to its rescue, but the heart of the creature remains untouched.

WHY THE BLACK FLAG?

Why the Black Flag? is from a leaflet issued by "Siren", an Anarcho-Feminist publication (c/o The Seed, 950 W. Wrightwood, Chicago, Illinois 60614).

The black flag is the symbol of Anarchy. It evokes reactions ranging from horror to delight among those who recognize it. Find out what it means and prepare to see it at more and more public gatherings. Anarchists are against all government because they believe that the free and informed will of the individual is the ultimate strength of groups and of society itself. Anarchists believe in individual responsibility and initiative and in the whole-hearted cooperation of groups composed of free individuals. Government is the opposite of this ideal, relying as it does on brute force and deliberate fraud to expedite the control of the many by the few. Whether this cruel and fraudulent process is validated by such mythical concepts as the divine rights of kings, democratic elections, or a people's revolutionary government, makes little difference to Anarchists. We reject the whole concept of government itself and postulate a radical reliance on the problem-solving capacity of free human beings.

Why is our flag black? Black is a shade of negation. The black flag is the negation of all flags. It is a negation of nationhood which pits the human race against itself and denies the unity of humankind. Black is a mood of anger and outrage at all the hideous crimes against humanity perpetrated in the name of allegiance to one state or another. It is anger and outrage at the insults to human intelligence im-

plied in the pretenses, hypocrisies, and cheap chicaneries of governments ...

Black is also the color of mourning; the black flag which cancels out the nation also mourns its victims—the countless millions murdered in wars, external and internal, to the greater glory and stability of some bloody State. It mourns for those whose labor is robbed (taxed) to pay for the slaughter and oppression of other human beings. It mourns not only death of the body but the crippling of the spirit under authoritarian and hierarchic systems, it mourns the millions of brain cells blacked out with never a chance to light up the world. It is a color of unconsolable grief.

But black is also beautiful. It is a color of determination, of resolve—of strength, a color by which all others are clarified and defined. Black is the mysterious surrounding of germination, of fertility, the breeding ground of new life which always evolves, renews, refreshes, and reproduces itself in darkness. The seed hidden in the earth, the strange journey of the sperm, the secret growth of the embryo in the womb—all these the blackness surrounds and protects.

So black is negation, is anger, is outrage, is mourning, is beauty, is hope, is the fostering and sheltering of new forms of human life and relationships on and with this earth. The black flag means all these things. We are proud to carry it, sorry we have to, and look forward to the day when such a symbol will no longer be necessary.

ANARCHY IN NEW YORK

ANARCHY IN NEW YORK - by Doug Imrie

The following article is a review of Public Image Limited's recent concert appearance in New York. PIL also played in Toronto, Montréal, and elsewhere, and each show was relatively unique.

When we arrived outside the Roseland Ballroom, there were about a hundred people gathered on the sidewalk there, waiting for the doors to open. There was also a cop car parked outside the front door. People talked or cruised up and down the sidewalk until 8:30 or so when the doors opened. Everybody was searched before entering by the bouncers. No beers, cameras, or tape recorders were allowed inside.

The Roseland is immense inside. It has a large polished dance floor, with coloured fabric hanging gracefully from the ceiling above, giving the impression of a sophisticated pleasure palace - ideal surroundings for the passive consumption of packaged leisure time. As people filed in, the sound system flooded the room with muzak. People stared dancing. The hall filled rapidly, and soon there were a thousand peole there. Most were punks. They milled around on the dance floor waiting for the show to start. It was a long wait.

More than an hour later, at about 10:15, Art opened for Public Image Limited, and things lightened up considerably. Fist of all, the sickening new wave crap being pumped out by the PA system stopped it felt like someone had unlocked a vise from my head!

Art took to the stage and started to play. Art are: Michael Board, vocals; Kimberly Davis, vocals and metronome; Lori Montana, sign language and mini-percussion; and Bill Shor on guitar. They are amateurs, in the best sense of the world. Their music is spare (They used only four instruments, including the drum set) and meant only to punctuate their lyrics, which are excellent.

Instead of coming on like a rock act, they used barbed satire to ridicule all rock acts:

We want real art, not recycled pap Boil the Pretenders in a vat! I don't want to hold your hand Holding is not enough I don't want to hold your hand I just want to beat you UP!

Best of all, they insulted people in just the way to make them think critically about the whole music scene and their relation to it. They closed with "Anarchy in the UK", complete with punk theatrics, saying that the audience was only there to see Johnny anyway. Throughout the set, a few morons yelled at them and threw beer cans, but they were well received on the whole. They left, and the crowd waited for Public Image, tense and expectant.

Right there, at the worst possible time, the management chose to provoke the audience. The boss of the Roseland put his hired muscle on the stage behind the barricade (there was a gap between barricade and stage) and tried over a period of twenty minutes to force the audience back a couple of feet **behind** the barricade. He hearly caused a riot by constantly cajoling the crowd to do as they were told, and promised to hold Public Image off the stage until his orders were obeyed. At one point, this imbecile even threatened to call the cops in if people didn't stop throwing beer cans at him. It was an ugly scene. The crowd wasn't taking any of this shit and refused to cooperate. They screamed at him to get the fuck off the stage. Finally he left, but the muscle stayed, highly visible in their red t-shirts. This is how all rock management colonize "their" audiences.

Public Image assembled on stage: John Lydon, vocals; Keith Levine, guitar; Martin Atkins, drums; and Pete Jones, on bass. A few words of greeting from Lydon, lights went on, the speakers kicked in, and it began. Words are useless.

Public Image Limited was formed immediately after the break-up of the Sex Pistols in the summer of 1980, and was more than partly a response to the disgusting treatment both Lydon and Levine had received from the rock business, which they both hate. They don't like to do live shows because of a concert's resemblance to a religious spectacle. They hate touring, prefering to concentrate on videos, movies, soundtracks and other ventures. They stress that Public Image is a company with many interests, not just a one-dimensional rock band. From all that I have been able to find out, they are not big money-makers, and operate on a shoe-string budget. This was the first time I had seen Public Image. I have admired their music since I first heard it — it is experimental, not rock music, not pop music. It is not commercial, and is very original. No one plays music like theirs, and I'd venture to say that they are probably the best single electric band around.

Back to the concert. The sound system was crystal clear and avery loud, the acoustics excellent. There were no technical screw-ups, and they played very well. This was the only concert I had ever been to where you couldn't be sure what was going to happen next, and *definitely* the only concert so intense that a riot could have broken out easily. I found the uncertainty and intensity very refreshing: there were more possibilities open to all of us and a lot less boredom.

The dance floor was a mass of seething humanity, and the bouncers had a tough time keeping the crowd behind the barrier. I had to stand first on a chair, then on a table, to see. There was no way to get to the stage, as the floor was packed solid with hundreds of leather-clad punks. After half an hour, Lydon announced a break so the band could rest up. They came back on stage and startedagain, then...pause. The boss-man comes onstage with his heavies. Short conversation with Lydon and band. Lydon turns, says "The management are scared shitless of you lot. They think you're going to trash the place. They won't let us continue until you've calmed down. It's up to you." Pause. Boss and goons exit right. The "concert" continues. The band jams, and Lydon invites the crowd to make up the lyrics, passes the mike out to the crowd. It

returns, and he continues to sing — the only words are "Mad Max" — from the movie of the same name. Then, with the band blasting behind him, he crouches, says "All right — this is your cue to riot" —he is not kidding —and roars into the mike "MADMAXMADMAXMADMAXMADMAX". The crowd goes crazy. People start to jump the barriers. There are fights with the bouncers. Some punks are beaten back over the barrier. Slowly, it dies down. There is no riot yet.

They played songs from Flowers of Romance album, which involved Levine and Jones putting down their guitars and playing drums instead. It was especially interesting to see this, because of what Public Image does on stage. There is no acting, and the band makes what happens on stage completely transparent, that is there is no attempt to mystify the crowd. When there is a pause, Lydon explains why. When the audience bothers the band, there are told why, and told to knock it off. Lydon does not "stroke" the crowd. Usually, when the band makes a decision, they talk on stage, then announce what they have decided and why.

After fifty minutes, the management forced the band to stop the concert. They played two or three more songs, then left. There was a lot of applause for the band, and anger for the management. The crowd could have taken over the place easily, or smashed it in reprisal, but they didn't. Pity.



NEWS SHORTS

FALLOUT FROM THE LITTON BOMBING

TORONTO— The suspense over police response to the bombing of the Litton Systems cruise missile plant in the city has broken with a series of raids on the offices of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, WE Peterborough, and the Alliance for Non-Violent Action of Toronto, and on the homes of at least six prominent members of the C.M.C.P.

The C.M.C.P. is the largest and most visible of the Toronto area peace groups. They have leafletted the workers at Litton every Tuesday afternoon for three years, urging them to push to have the plant convert from the war production to peaceful goods. They have also sponsored demonstrations and blockades of the plant on Hiroshima Day, Remembrance Day, and Good Friday each year.

Though the police argue that the "Soviet link" of the one of the people raided makes the C.M.C.P. a reasonable group to connect to the Direct Action Group which claimed responsibility for the bombing, the extreme predominance of Quakers in C.M.C.P., and the success of the November 11 civil disobedience action, points to pure political harrassment and "fishing" as their motive.

The last civil disobedience action at Litton involved six hundred demonstrators, with a substantial anarchist contingent. All told, seventy-two people were arrested for obstruction of police and similar misdemeanors. This is in contrast to previous demos of three to four hundred with fourteen or so people being arrested.

This last time, as in the past, the police were not friendly. Instead of twenty or so smiling cops, there were more than three hundred, including two mounted squads and a Tactical Squad on the rooftops.

IN OTTAWA AT THE YAWN-FEST!!!

The largest ever Canadian anti-war demonstration was held in Ottawa this past October 30th. There were fifteen thousand people parading through the absolutely empty downtown Ottawa streets on a Sunday morning. It was so quiet—as if we were afraid of waking the city up—no chanting, no shouting—in sum, NO ENERGY. Perhaps because it had taken seven and a half hours to get there from Toronto, the Toronto anarchists were tired, and we weren't seeing the energy there. But I prefer to believe that everyone realized the meaninglessness of this exercise. We got off our bus and walked rapidly to the front of the march, looking for other anarchists and waving our flags high, so we saw most of the march.

At the rally in Mackenzie Park, there were a lot of boring speeches for various sorts of peace buraucrats and potential politicians, Christ-freaks, and so on. Most of them were a waste of time, so the little band of anarchists went off for lunch, then came back to sell our newspaper, hang out, and pass out leaflets.

The only speech that was interesting was the one by Jim Stark of Operation Dismantle, who pulled all of the right strings. He said things in just the way the crowd wanted to hear them. Speaking like a revivalist minister with fire and conviction, he could have started a cult group right there and then (maybe that accounts for the blank expressions...). All in all, a waste of time and money, although we did make some contacts. Many people who were planning to stay overnight came back early.

RED HOT VIDEO FIREBOMBED!!

VANCOUVER— Three Red Hot Video porn emporiums were firebombed by a group called the Wimmins' Fire Brigade. One burned to the ground, one was damaged somewhat, and another bomb was disarmed before the incendiaries went off.

More details elsewhere in the paper.

TAKE BACK THE NIGHT MARCH ATTACKED!!

TORONTO— On November 4th, a Take Back the Night march on the University of Toronto campus, organized by the U. of T.'s Women's Coalition, was attacked with buckets of hot and cold water, and small objects hurled from the windows of the Devonshire and New College men's residences.

Among the chants from the windows of the rssidences were: "Show Us Your Tits" and "Rape and Violence Against Women Are Normal".

There is, coincidentally, a big push on at the U. of T. to deny Student Activity Council funding to the Women's Newsmagazine on the grounds that it is "sexist", and to prevent the SAC-funded sex education and birth control centre from mentioning abortion.

ABORTION CLINIC NEWS

TORONTO— An ad-hoc group of feminists, concerned doctors, and others has been actively preparing to set up an illegal free-standing abortion clinic in Toronto to respond to an ever-worsening availability crunch for abortions.

At present, abortions are only legal if performed in a hospital after they have been approved by the Therapeutic Abortion Committees. Some hospitals don't have TACs, some approve virtually no abortions because of anti-choice pressure, and the few that do abortions easily are swamped, and are easy targets.

Details elsewhere in this issue.



Dear Comrades:

Thank you for the sample copy of Kick It Over. As a participant in the Anarchos Institute founding meeting, I would like to reply to some of Alexandra Devon's comments (in number 4-ed.) concerning it. The Montreal anarchists are probably the best organized (if not the most numerous) of any city on this continent. The public meetings were conducted very much in French because the Montreal people wished to have the maximum possible impression on their local milieux, a worthy goal that I am sure is not "inconsistent with the goals of the Institute and with anarchism". The public meetings were designed for people who are either francophones or, if they live in Quebec, bloody well should know French considering the national question in that province. The workshops "behind closed doors" were indeed where the real conference was taking place, and the proceedings were entirely in English, in deference to the large number of Americans present.

Now, as to the "closed" nature of the sessions: membership was by invitation. This would not have prevented anyone from attending the sessions (all one had to do was ask where they were at the ever present literature tables at the public sessions). The purpose of the Institute, however, was not to provide yet another anarchist federation. It is to encourage serious research on anarchism, and people were invited essentially because the Montreal group had seen them to be seriously involved in



writing on a theoretical plane over a period of years. Others were proposed for membership by the original invitees. Membership is open to anyone who wishes to contribute to serious advancement of the study of anarchism. The Institute, however, is not all things to all people. It is not an anarchist federation directly involved in political study, and people should not expect it to be such.

The second reason for the membership by invitation (or by reasonable effort to apply — the announcements of the Institute were carried by almost all the anarchist press well in advance) is that anarchist groups are unfortunately very attractive for those who can only be described as insane. Many, many, many anarchist projects have been wrecked because the people involved were so liberal that they refused to exclude anybody. The problem is that, as the nutcases come in one door, everybody leaves by the other door. The group starts to spend an inordinate amount of time dealing with what some crazy individual sees as the best atrocity to perpetrate today. Most nutcases don't take the time to write for membership application — it's too much of an effort, and if they did the well-ordered procedures of the Institute would minimize the harm they might do. It is not against the principles of anarchism to exclude people whose only strength is destruction (even though that was not done directly in this case), despite the liberal myths that seem too common in the anarchist milieux. Exclusion is simply a development of the right to succession that anarchist hold as one of their cardinal principles.

That's about it. Good luck on your paper.

In solidarity, Pat Murtagh

WIMMIN'S FIRE BRIGADE COMMUNIQUE

We, the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, claim responsibility for the fire-bombing of three Red Hot Video outlets in the Lower Mainland of B.C. on Nov. 22, 1982. This action is another step towards the destruction of a business that promotes and profits from violence against women and children.

Red Hot Video sells tapes that show wimmin and children being tortured, raped and humiliated. We are not the property of men to be used and abused.

Red Hot Video is part of a multi-billion dollar pornography industry that teaches men to equate sexuality with violence. Although these tapes violate the Criminal Code of Canada and the B.C. guidelines on pornography, all lawful attempts to shut down Red Hot Video have failed because the justice system was created, and is controlled, by rich men to protect their profits and property.

As a result, we are left no viable alternative but to change the situation ourselves through illegal means. This is an act of self-defense against hate propaganda. We will continue to defend ourselves!



OUT OF FOCUS

Due to the fact that FOCUS BOOKS AND ART is no longer part of the Anarchist community, KIO is starting up a new column to keep our readers informed as to the availability of subversive literature. We hope, in time, to start up a mail-order service for really hard-to-get books. But for now, we'll limit ourselves to telling you where you can get various titles. We'll start with the titles mentioned in this issue:

Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television, Jerry Mander, Quill Press, New York, 1978, \$8.95. Available at the World's Biggest Bookstore (sociology section), 20 Edward St., Toronto.

Toward An Anthropology of Women, edited by Rayna Reiter, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1975, \$8.95. Available at the W.B.B. and at Pages Bookstore, 256 Queen St. W., Toronto.

Direct Action Communique. printed in full in the November issue of the Toronto Clarion Newspaper. For a copy, send \$.50, or drop by 71 Bathurst St., Toronto.

Coming To Power(a lesbian sm anthology), available from Samois, P.O. Box 11798, San Francisco, CA, 94101, USA.

Mariana Valverde's review of Coming To Power appeared in September issue of Broadside newspaper. Send \$1.00 to Broadside Communications Ltd., P.O.Box 494, Station P, Toronto, ONT, M5S 2T1.

Up From the Ashes, an anarcho-communist theoretical journal advertised in our last issue, is now available for \$.75 a copy at SCM Bookroom, 333 Bloor St. W., and at DEC Bookroom, 427 Bloor St. W. (Toronto). The new issue will be out soon, and will feature articles such as "Bookchin on Fourier" and "On the Need for a New Theoretical Synthesis". For more information, write to UFA, P.O. Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, ONT M5W 1P2.

For the best in Situationist theoretical writing see the Situationist International Anthology, available for \$10.95 from the Bureau of Public Secrets, P.O.Box 1044, Berkeley, CA 94701, USA.

For those of you interested in doing more reading on the peace movement, we might remind you that Jonathan Schell's The Fate of the Earth is now out in paperback, and is available at most bookstores; that the Fifth Estate newspaper had an excellent article in their spring issue on the nuclear freeze movement entitled "Why We Didn't Sign Your Petition" (for copies, write to FE, 4403 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201, USA), and that the following pamphlets on Anarchism and Peace are now available: Leo Tolstoy's Patriotism or Peace and Letter on the Peace Conference and Paul Goodman's Message to the Military-Industrial Complex. All three——.40 each. 40% discount on orders of 10 or more copies, 50% on orders over 100 copies. Cheques to Flashpoint, Box 7702, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada.

FLASH! LITTON SUSPECTS ARRESTED! KIO

After seeing Arthur Miller's The Crucible, I was struck by the parallels to our own situation. Ivan LeCouvie, a member of WE Peterborough, has his diary brandished in court as "proof" of a "Soviet connection" to the peace movement. Arrested in a movie theatre washroom, he is told that he faces attempted murder charges, and a mandatory 6 years in jail, and, that as a "fringe member" of Direct Action, he will make it easier on himself if he fingers the core group members.

And, more recently, with the arrest of 5 Direct Action "suspects", RCMP spokespeople make clear that the group in custody ("operating under the guise of anarchists") are part of a "network of loosely organized cells with connections across the country", thus creating the climate for more arrests and harassment. On the radio station where I first heard of the arrests, anarchism was defined as dedication to violent action aimed at creating a society without government (which completely ignores the large number of anarchists who are committed to non-violence).

If there is any single lesson to be gleaned from Arthur Miller's powerful story of the witchhunts in Salem, Massachusets, it is that whoever does not resist evil to the fullest winds up as its accomplice. Any attempt to save oneself or one's loved ones by implicating others, or by conciliating in any way, with the rapacious beast of authority will only lead to tragedy. Tyrants are never sated by concessions. They will use you to hurt others, and then devour you anyway. Only the most unflinching resistance can create splits in the enemy camp, and create conditions which make it possible to turn the tide. This should be borne in mind when the suspects are brought to trial. However we may disagree with their approach of Direct Action (and these people may be purely the victims of a police frame-up), we must never allow the important moral and political questions to be obscured by "law and order vs. terrorism" demagoguery. The real terrorists must be put on trial, and revolutionaries must go on the offensive.

Store owner wants his sex tapes burned

RICHMOND, B.C. (CP) — A video store owner says he will turn over \$3,000 worth of sexually explicit video tapes to women's groups for burning.

Mark Robert, who operates the Pacific Video Ltd. store in this Vancouver-area city, says he is protesting increasing violence against women.

Robert says he wants to set an example for video merchants who sell tapes that depict rape and other forms of

He says he originally planned to sell the tapes, but changed his mind after a friend was raped and he learned of campaigns by women's groups against violent pornography.

Last month, three Vancouver-area outlets of Red Hot Video, which sells sexually explicit films, were firebombed.

Christian prints to APROVIDE sortin apaginer in the

ORDER DESK

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MATURE individual; responsible, required for order desk and general office work. Duties include taking orders, handling customer inquiries, filing, etc. Must have good typing skills. Experience on mini computer and telex an asset. Please reply with resume to Box 1433 Star.

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NAME: Anna Elizaveta Prokhorova

ADDRESS: 1 South Martyr St. PHONE: 487-2543

S.I.N.: Original, the first

HEALTH: Good

HOBBIES: Cooking, sewing, typing, performing menial tasks and womanly duties.

EDUCATION: (We learn what we live!) EXPERIENCE: Joe's Surrogate Mothers

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS: Will fetch coffee, run errands, do favours, play checkers. I am subservient, humble, caring, naieve, bright-eyed but never question anyone's authority, have a strong sense of duty and responsibility, mature, efficient, quiet, shy with constantly averted head, hard-working, and I don't chew bubble gum or engage in pre-marital sex (except to further my career in some cases).

Dear Sirs,

As of late I have come to the realization that the corporations, multinationals and petty capitalist firms such as yours are suffering badly in these times of economic hardship. Although there are literally thousands upon thousands of people here in Canada who are living in abject poverty, I feel you are being treated most unjustly — the devalued dollar, devastating taxation policies, high employee wage demands and theft, disruptions by unions, commies, and bomb-throwing anarchists alike, and the passive acceptance of this exploitation by the lazy multitude of unemployed bums. My heart bleeds for you in your tragic circumstances and out of boundless compassion and empathy for you in your condition of suffering, my one desire is to serve you, to immolate myself for the sole purpose of seeing you propser at my expense. There is nothing more that I want but to be your complete slave, totally at your disposal, unconditionally subservient and obedient, expecting nothing in return but an occasional smile or wink. Sirs, I appeal to you, in the name of social duty, to kindly consider this humble application for employment, as I feel the ever-present, irresistable compulsion to justify my existence as a gainfully employed, productively decent, law-abiding, respectable servant of society.

I beg of you — Mold me to fit your specifications.

Flatulently yours,

ANNA ELIZAVETA PROKHOROVA

